

as one) *yathā kañcanapāṭiyā silālekheva* (for *-lekhā iva*; Att and Mhbv read *silālekhe va*) *me niccaṃ sabbaṃ suttaṃ na nāsaye*.

7. *Sugata/Tathāgata* "Buddha"

PED translates *Sugata* as "faring well, happy, having a happy life after death",²³ but if that were correct, then all those born in a *sugati*, which includes all men,²⁴ would be called *sugata*. I regard the word *Sugata* as having the same relationship to *sugati* as *duggata* has to *duggati*, i.e. the implied *-gati* is not being used in its technical sense of "(category of) rebirth". So *duggata* is used in a general sense "(one who is) in a bad way" = "poor", whereas *Sugata* is used in a very specialised sense "(one who is) in a (particularly) good way" = "Buddha".

The same applies to the word *Tathāgata*. PED states that its derivation is uncertain.²⁵ It was long ago pointed out that it occurs in the Prakrit form *tahāgaya* in Jain literature, although Thomas hinted that the word was possible not of Aryan origin, because "in its use in the scriptures there is no trace of the Sanskrit meaning contained in *tathā* and *gata*".²⁶ If, however, we assume that *-gata* is used in the same way as in *sugata* and *duggata*, then we can see that it means "(one who is) in that sort of (= very good) way". For the force of the demonstrative, we can compare *tādi(n)* "of such a kind = excellent".²⁷

Cambridge

K.R. Norman

²³ See PED, s.v. *Sugata*.

²⁴ Cf. *tattha sugatiggahaṇena manussagati pi saṅgayhati*, Vism 427, 28.

²⁵ See PED, s.v. *tathāgata*.

²⁶ See E.J. Thomas, "Tathāgata and tahāgaya", *BSOS*, VIII, 1936, pp. 781-88 (p. 787).

²⁷ See K.R. Norman, *Elders' Verses* I, p. 131 (ad Th 41).

TUṆḌILOVĀDA: AN ALLEGEDLY NON-CANONICAL SUTTA

"The *Sutta* of the Advice to Tuṇḍila" is a short Pali text in both prose and verse. Although by title it is a *sutta* and the narrative attributes its contents to the Buddha, it is not included in the Pali Text Society's edition of the Pali Canon. This is not to say that its contents are markedly different from other discourses in the Pali canon. On the contrary, the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* provides a concise illustration, albeit an inspirational illustration, of the logic and structure of traditional Theravāda Buddhist practice.

The occasion for the discourse is a *dāna* given by the layman Tuṇḍila and his wife. After perceiving Tuṇḍila's spiritual potential, but before delivering the discourse proper, the Buddha sends forth his six bodily rays. This is reminiscent of narratives in medieval Sinhala Buddhist literature where the Buddha is also sometimes said to use two means to convert beings, his manner of preaching and the performance of miracles.¹ The discourse then begins appropriately with an exposition of the benefits (*anīsaṃsā*) which accrue to those who practice *dāna*. Significantly, the giving of *dāna* is portrayed here as an integral component of the attainment of *nibbāna*. An account of how *sīla* is always a necessary complement to *dāna* then follows. The exposition of the benefits of practicing *sīla* provides an occasion for an enumeration of first, the five precepts, and then the ten precepts. There is some incongruity in discussing all ten precepts in a discourse addressed to a layman, although this portion of the text may be more narrowly addressed only to the monks in the audience.² The benefits of guarding

¹ See, for example, Gurugomi, *Amāvatura*, edited by Kodagoda Ñānaloka Thera (Colombo: Gunasena, 1967), p. 49.

² The repeated use of the vocative *bhikkhave* in this portion of the text may be taken in more than one way. It can be read as a limitation of the relevance of the

śīla extend, of course, to future births, including births in heavens, and the text then describes the length of life and pleasures found in various divine states. In a crucial turning point, the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* says that such pleasurable courses of life are to be both desired and renounced. The text then refers to the inevitable suffering that comes from desire, and from the life of a householder in general. As is the case with life in a heavenly state, household life is to be both desired and despised. The benefits of renunciation are then extolled. The text ends with an extended simile of the city of *nibbāna*, in which the city's gate, for example, is identified with perfect generosity (*dānapāramī*).

The *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* as a whole thus illustrates a traditional Theravādin understanding of "the gradual path," to use George Bond's phrase for "the hierarchy of means and ends necessary to relate the dhamma to a variety of people and yet to maintain the belief in one ultimate goal and one ultimate meaning of the dhamma."¹

As the above summary suggests, the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* is scarcely noteworthy because of its contents. Rather, it deserves scholarly attention because it is "an allegedly non-canonical sutta."² Its significance to the student of the Theravāda was first recognized by Hugh Nevill, who collected three manuscripts containing the text during his government service in Sri Lanka at the end of the nineteenth century, and his own comments are worth extended quotation:

immediate comments to different implied audiences. It also can be taken as evidence that this portion of the text has in fact an origin in another text.

¹ George D. Bond, "The Gradual Path as a Hermeneutical Approach to the Dhamma," in *Buddhist Hermeneutics*, edited by Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988), p. 34.

² This description is K.D. Somadasa's and is found in his *Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Library*, Volume I (London: The British Library, and Henley-on-Thames: Pali Text Society, 1987), p. 27. It is a pleasure for me to acknowledge that the edition presented below is a small fruit of this learned scholar's valuable work.

This is a very important work to the student of Buddhism, as it evidently forms like the *Kusala sutta*, a portion of the heretical works of one of the schisms, once so powerful in Ceylon. There is nothing in the contents which can be pronounced unorthodox, beyond the fact that the sutta does not occur in the *Nikāyas*. The materials are an elegant and masterly compilation of the doctrine from the *Sutta piṭaka*, composed in a simple and earnest spirit. *Gāthas* occur at intervals and those relating to *dānaṃ* or alms struck my friend Dr. Neuman, when read to him by my pundit, as very similar in general style to the *Mahādāna* of the *Jātaka*. Other *gāthas* remind me of the *Nidhikaṇḍa sutta* of the *Khuddakapāṭha*, in much of which I recognize great antiquity, though my opinion is really of no value. Dr. Neuman's remark however, though made casually, strikes me on consideration, as very important. There is a primitive simplicity in such stanzas as 'Sabbam dhammena¹ labbhati.'²

I would set aside Nevill's speculations about the institutional or sectarian affiliation of the text, for which there is little independent evidence. Likewise, I am wary of Nevill's estimation of the text's date, since he sometimes had a predilection to date those texts he judged important as also early. More important to me is Nevill's recognition that there are other texts like *Tuṇḍilovāda*, in so far as they are *suttas* which are not found in the generally acknowledged Pali Canon. Nevill mentions the *Kusala Sutta*, but other examples include the *Sāra Sutta*, the *Brāhmaṇapaṇḥa Sutta*, the *Marapaṇḥana Sutta*, and the *Devadūta Sutta*, all of which are found in Nevill's manuscript collection. Another text with some similarities to these suttas, but also with important differences, is the Sinhala-language *Sumana Sutrāya*, described by

¹ Sic. The manuscripts in the Nevill collection actually read *dānena*.

² Somadasa, *Nevill Collection Catalogue*, I, pp. 27–28

Malalgoda in his article on Buddhist Millennialism.¹ These texts — and one must wonder if there are more — have received little scholarly attention, and at this point, it is impossible even to say whether they form a single class of texts, much less to generalize about their collective character. It is equally impossible to say at this point whether these texts, all found in Sri Lanka, share anything with the “apocryphal” Buddhist literature of Southeast Asia, such as the *Paññāsa Jātaka*, the *Malleyyatherasutta*, and the *Jambupatisutta*.² All the same, their very existence raises a number of questions, and I hope that this edition will be but a step to the further study they deserve. Whether or not such texts form a distinct body of Pali literature that deserves a name like “deutero-canonical,” they may at least assist us in our continuing inquiries about the nature and role of the Pali Canon in the Theravāda.

The comments of Nevill quoted above suggest that he found the canonical guise of the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* convincing. It is easy to share this impression. The text begins with *evam me sutam*, the standard phrase which introduces all canonical discourses, and a conventional account of the circumstances in which the discourse was preached by the Buddha. As Nevill says, “there is nothing in the contents which can be pronounced unorthodox.” I too see nothing that would make it fail the most general test of scriptural authenticity accepted in the Theravāda: “[w]hen anyone claims to have an authentic text, its authenticity is to be judged simply by seeing whether it harmonizes with the texts (sutta and

¹ Kitsiri Malalgoda, “Millennialism in Relation to Buddhism,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 42 (1970), pp. 424–41. I would like to thank Professor Malalgoda for bringing the *Sumana Sutrāya* to my attention.

² *Paññāsa-Jātaka*, edited by Padmanabh S. Jaini (London: Pali Text Society, 1981–83). For a brief description of the last two texts, see H. Saddhatissa, “Pāli Literature of Thailand,” in *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner*, edited by L. Cousins, A. Kunst, and K.R. Norman (Boston/Dordrecht: D. Reidel, 1974), pp. 215, 219.

vinaya) already current in the Sangha.”¹ Moreover, the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* also has some commentarial works attached to it, although significantly not *atthakathā* or *ṭīkā*. The manuscripts found in London, and utilized in this edition, include Sinhala-language *sannayas* and Pali-language *pada ānumas*, both commentarial genres popular during the Buddhist renaissance which began in Sri Lanka during the Kandyan period. It is not possible to say, in any definitive way, whether such commentaries represent attempts to give the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* more of the appearance of canonical authority, or instead are evidence that the text was indeed received as canonical. K.D. Somadasa’s survey of the holdings of Sri Lankan temple libraries, which lists 44 manuscripts distributed all over that island, at least would suggest that the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* had some currency as a valued text;² I have, however, found nothing that would indicate that it was known outside Sri Lanka.

The full significance of the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* can only be measured against a historical background that includes a closed Pali Canon, an idea which has long played a complicated role in the heritage of the Theravāda.³ This closed canon was at least nominally restricted to those works said to be “recited” at the first Buddhist councils, and especially the first *sangīti* held at Rājagaha. In a way that is reminiscent of commentarial justifications of the canonical status of the *A bhidhammapīṭaka*, one manuscript in London (given the siglum C below) includes a Sinhala-language *nidānapāṭhavistaraya* which says that

¹ R.F. Gombrich, “How the Mahāyāna Began,” in *The Buddhist Forum*, Vol. I (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1990), p. 26. On the well-known four *mahāpadesa*, see Étienne Lamotte, “La critique d’authenticité dans le Bouddhisme,” *India Antiqua* (Leyden: E.J. Brill, 1947), pp. 213–22.

² K.D. Somadasa, *Lankāvē Puskola Pot Nāmāvaliya* (Colombo: Cultural Department, 1959), I. 34; II. 26.

³ See Steven Collins, “On the Very Idea of the Pali Canon,” pp. 89–126 above.

the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* was recited at the first council by Ānanda after he had recited the five *nikāyas* of the *Suttapiṭaka*.¹

We may immediately ask why a text like the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* would be written. To answer this we first need to have some idea of the time of its origin, and here we have little concrete evidence. Nevill implied that the text might be early because of perceived similarities between the language and style of the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* and other Buddhist literature, such as the *Jātaka* verses, which are generally accepted as dating to the earliest strata of Buddhist literature. Such similarities, of course, may owe much to “the eye of the beholder,” and one could also note that there are similarities between the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* and the *Kosala-bimba-Vaṇṇanā*, which Malalasekera dates to medieval Sri Lanka.² Even when such similarities can be extensively established, they may still not be a sure guide for dating a text, as we know from the archaism of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.³

My own suspicion is that the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* dates from the Kandyan period. This, however, is little more than an educated guess based on the inference that a text that had canonical status or authority in an earlier period would also have the kinds of commentaries typical of the time, such as *ṭīkā*. Informing my suspicion is the *Sumana Sutrāya*, which from its contents can definitely be dated to the Kandyan period. Finally, I find it reasonable that a period that was characterized by both a low standard in Pali and indeed Buddhist learning, and a desire to effect a

¹ See Somadasa, *Nevill Collection Catalogue*, I, p. 99.

² On the latter text, see Richard F. Gombrich, “Kosala-Bimba-Vaṇṇanā,” in *Buddhism in Ceylon and Studies on Religious Syncretism in Buddhist Countries*, edited by Heinz Bechert (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1978), p. 283.

³ See J.A.B. van Buitenen, “On the Archaism of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa,” in *Krishna: Myths, Rites, and Attitudes*, edited by Milton Singer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), pp. 23–40.

revival of Buddhist thought and practice could provide a fertile context for the acceptance of a work like the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta*. As happened with “apocryphal” Buddhist literature in other contexts, “suspicions concerning the authenticity of a text (may have) paled as its value in explicating Buddhist doctrine and practice became recognized.”¹

It is sometimes said that generally Buddhist “apocrypha” were the products of local religious concerns; thus Chinese Buddhist apocrypha “typically reflect their domestic author’s own religious interests and social concerns, which were not directly addressed in translated Indian texts.”² This provides a plausible motivation for contravening the limits of a closed canon, and is helpful for understanding a text like the *Sumana Sutrāya*. Similarly, the corpus of Mahāyāna literature, containing distinctive and new teachings, suggests another plausible motivation for extending the limits of a closed canon. Neither of these motivations seems immediately applicable to the composition of the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta*. If nothing new was said, why was a new text needed or desired?

Perhaps that question itself is skewed by our common assumption that a closed canon had a rigid and inviolable force in the Theravāda. Steven Collins, in the article cited above, has gone some way to identify the historical background to the ‘fixing’ of the Pali Canon as a closed list of texts. At the same time, he has questioned whether this closed list has always been co-extensive with the body of functionally authoritative literature accepted in the tradition; Collins, to use his own terminology, raises questions whether we should take Canon 2 as simply

¹ Robert E. Buswell, “Introduction,” in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, edited by Robert E. Buswell (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1990), p. 13. This volume was to include, but now omits, an article on “The Apocryphal Jātakas of Southeast Asian Buddhism,” by P.S. Jaini, as announced by Steven Collins, “Preface,” in *Apocryphal Birth Stories* (Paññāsa-Jātaka), Vol. I (London: Pali Text Society, 1985), p. vii.

² Buswell, p. 1.

equivalent to Canon 1. Frequent references to later monastic teachers in Buddhist literature as “masters of the *Tipiṭaka*” raise similar questions; does such a title imply that they had memorized the whole canon, or, as seems more likely to me, that they were judged to be in command of its contents. In these two instances and in others,¹ we are beginning to discern a spectrum of ideas about the *tipiṭaka* in the Theravāda tradition, and it may be that when judged against such a spectrum, texts like the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* will not appear so anomalous.

We can perhaps be more specific about the probable sociology of knowledge necessary for the acceptance of the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta*. In a general sense, the same conditions — especially a widespread use of writing for recording scriptures — which Richard Gombrich suggested were necessary for the rise of the Mahāyāna,² were necessary here too. In addition, as one can see with only a glance at K.D. Somadasa’s catalogue of the Nevill manuscript collection, the written *Suttapiṭaka* was frequently transmitted not as a whole or even in the five *nikāyas*, but as individual *suttas*, either separately or as part of ad hoc anthologies. It is easy to see that a new *sutta* could more readily gain acceptance in a context where the canon circulated and was known more in parts than as a whole. This acceptance may also have been facilitated by the fact that there is a *Tuṇḍila Jātaka* and the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* may have been assumed to be a portion of that text.³

The text of the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* contains a number of solecisms, although all are generally intelligible without emendation.

¹ The work of the anthropologists François Bizot and Charles Keyes is especially relevant in this regard; relevant references may be found in Steven Collins’ paper (pp. 89–126 above).

² Gombrich, “How the Mahāyāna Began,” pp. 21–30.

³ An apparent example of such a perception can be found in G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* (London: Pali Text Society, 1960), s.v. *Tuṇḍila*.

Even though the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* is often written in poor Pali, it is not without literary merit. I agree with Nevill’s judgement that at times it has a “primitive simplicity,” and I confess that I find the simplicity and vigor of its style pleasing.

The *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* frequently uses similes, although this is not simply another part of its literary style. As is well known, analogies, similes, and metaphors are a common feature of Theravādin homiletics. Indeed, analogy and simile were apparently considered very effective teaching tools, appropriate for even the dullest student. In the *Naṅgalīsa Jātaka*,¹ for example, the Bodhisatta uses analogy as a teaching method of last resort with a dullard, thinking that “making comparisons and giving reasons, and the continuous practice of comparing and reasoning on his part will enable me to impart learning to him.”² This method is particularly visible in the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* in a sequence about *kāmā*; to take one example: “desires are like a boil filled with pus because both have a stinking nature” (*duggandhabhāvena pūtiparipunnagandupamā kāmā*).

The most elaborate simile in the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* concerns the city of *nibbāna*. The basic idea of the city of *nibbāna* is quite common in the Buddhist literature of medieval Sri Lanka, but the term also seems to be a conventional form of reference rather than a live metaphor. The *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta*’s long application of the parts of a city, standard in poetic imagination, to *nibbāna* is thus of some interest. I am not sure, however, that the serial simile is intended as a device for extending understanding through the process of “comparing and reasoning” referred to in the *Naṅgalīsa Jātaka*. I find it hard to comprehend how the watchtower (*aṭṭalaka*) of the city is similar to *samādhi*: should we really

¹ J I 446–49.

² *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha’s Former Births*, Vol. I, translated by Robert Chalmers (London: Pali Text Society, 1969), p. 272.

try to reason and infer so much that ecstasy is perceived as similar to the place where one expects the guards to keep their eyes open ? But the long serial simile of the city of *nibbāna* is not without precedent in Pali literature. In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, there is a serial simile about the 'rajah's citadel',¹ where the gate-keeper is appropriately said to be mindfulness; in the *Apadāna*, there is a serial simile about the city of *Dhamma*, where the watchtower (*aṭṭālaka*) is mindfulness; and in the *Milindapañha*, there is an exceptionally long simile of the city of *Dhamma* where *virīya* is the watchtower.² Although these three examples seem to have more synthetic coherence than the simile in the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta*, none of them have much immediate force, whether for persuasion or for clarification, even when they are compared with some of the well-worn metaphors used in connection with *kāmā*. For me, the rhetorical purpose of these serial similes remains unclear. While this is not the place to begin a comparative study of their logic and force, we can at least see that such a comparison will contribute to our understanding of the varied roles of metaphors and images in Buddhist homiletic literature.

The edition presented here is based on seven direct witnesses found in six manuscripts. All of the manuscripts are located in London, and thus the sigla assigned to the witnesses are largely arbitrary, and only group the manuscripts according to the libraries where they are found:

A: British Library Or 6599(21). Text only. 17 folios (ka-kha). A nineteenth century copy.³

¹ *The Book of the Gradual Sayings*, translated by E.M. Hare (London: Pali Text Society, 1978), p. 73.

² A IV 105–11; Ap 44; Miln 330–45.

³ This manuscript is described in K.D. Somadasa, *Nevill Collection Catalogue*, I, pp. 27–28.

B: British Library Or 6599(20). Text and *pada ānuma*. 20 folios (khr-gl). A nineteenth century copy.¹

C₁: British Library Or 6600(41) V. Text and *pada ānuma*. 14 folios (khe-gl). A nineteenth century copy.

C₂: British Library Or 6600(41) I. Text and *sannaya*. 21 folios (sva-khī). A nineteenth century copy.²

X: Library, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London 43736. Text only. 6 folios (kai-ga). Probably a nineteenth century copy.

Y: Library, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 43737. Text and *sannaya*. 21 folios (ka-khu). Probably a nineteenth century copy.

Z: Library, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 43738 Text and *sannaya*. 31 folios (ku-ghi). Probably a nineteenth century copy.³

The witnesses naturally fall into three groups, according to whether they represent the text alone, or with either a *sannaya* or a *pada ānuma*. One might suspect that a grouping based on what are really different genres would exclude the possibility of contamination, but this has not been the case. Beyond this, the witnesses may be divided into two groups, according to relationships based on similarities of readings. Finally, I suspect that all manuscripts are copies of a single exemplar, which was not the original archetype. All manuscripts share a common, and a surprisingly obvious, error in the last *gāthā* of the text. It is this error which suggests a common source for all manuscripts, although admittedly it is a rather slim basis for such a judgement. I should note

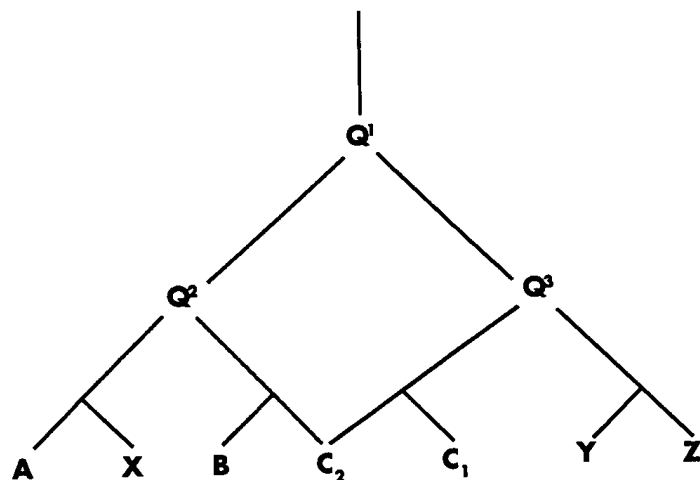
¹ This manuscript is also described in Somadasa, *Nevill Collection Catalogue*, I, p. 27.

² Both witnesses found in manuscript C are described in Somadasa, *Nevill Collection Catalogue*, I, pp. 98–100.

³ The *sannayas* found with witnesses C₂YZ are often substantially different from each other.

this instance is the only place where I have emended the text against the authority of all the manuscripts.

The following chart shows the approximate relationship among the different witnesses, with Q standing for “*quelle*,” hypothetical source; the divisions do not imply a lack of contamination:



This chart simply represents affinities among manuscripts, not a stemma. Since this distinction was fundamental to the methods employed in making this edition, it deserves some explanation.

The editing of Pali texts is entering a new era. Earlier editions were quite frankly provisional, working tools meant to get the study of Pali literature underway.¹ We are now at a point where a re-examination

¹ See, for example, the “Foreword” by C.A.F. Rhys Davids to *The Visuddhimagga*, edited by C.A.F. Rhys Davids (London: Pali Text Society, 1920), p. viii.

of these provisional editions seems required, but this means, as K.R. Norman has said, “[w]e must then face the question: ‘What is an accurate edition of a Pāli text?’”¹ In answering this question, we may have to admit that accurate editions can be produced according to different editing methods, and that various methods may be more appropriate to different kinds of texts.

I have not attempted an edition based on a stemma here. This is not to imply, though, that I have decided that the difficulties inherent in the stemma method cannot be overcome sufficiently for the reconstruction of the originals of early Pali literature,² or that the stemma method cannot be helpful for reconstructing the history of Indian texts.³ Without addressing such questions, I have only decided that the stemma method is not appropriate for editing the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta*. This decision reflects my suspicion of contamination in the limited number of manuscripts available to me, but more importantly, it is based on a doubt about whether the stemma method is appropriate for any late Pali text from Sri Lanka or Southeast Asia. Success in reconstructing a stemma depends on the recognition of shared errors and variants, by which the historical relationships among witnesses is defined. This recognition, however, is only possible when the editor can establish a relatively uniform standard of language against which mistakes can be

¹ K.R. Norman “Pāli Philology and the Study of Buddhism,” in *The Buddhist Forum*, Vol. I (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1990), p. 34.

² For a useful survey of criticisms of the stemma method in another field, see Alfred Foulet and Mary Blakely Speer, *On Editing Old French Texts* (Lawrence: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1979), pp. 1–41.

³ See, for a valuable discussion of this question, Oskar von Hinüber, “Remarks on the Problems of Textual Criticism in Editing Anonymous Sanskrit Literature,” in *Proceedings of the First Symposium of Nepali and German Sanskritists 1978* (Kathmandu: Nepal Research Centre, 1980), pp. 28–40.

recognized, and such a clear standard is still lacking for the Pali of the late Theravāda.¹

Thus, to avoid creating a text that is simply a patchwork of readings that no Buddhist reader ever knew, this edition was prepared using a base model method. I hope that this at least gives a reasonably good text, such as could have been available to a reader in nineteenth century Sri Lanka. Z was selected as the basic manuscript for the edition, because I found it consistently to have the best readings in places where other manuscripts had obvious errors. This is not to say that Z is completely free of mistakes, and the other manuscripts thus have served as controllers for the reading of Z, as well as sources of true variants. I have found that A, while having many more mistakes than Z, is often a source for such variants, which is not surprising given the affinities of the manuscripts noted in the chart above. It has thus been singled out as a kind of secondary basic manuscript. Thus both Z and A could, if one were so inclined, be completely reconstructed (except for the routine changes in orthography to be noted below) from the critical apparatus provided in the notes. Rejected readings of these two manuscripts, usually errors in spelling, are contained in brackets [] in the notes. XBC₁C₂Y are controllers; their rejected readings are included only out a desire for completeness and are contained in parentheses () in the notes. Except for the single instance noted above, no emendation has been made in the edition against the authority of the manuscripts. I have noted places where emendation does seem necessary and have also suggested some plausible emendations in the critical apparatus.

¹ For a very useful introduction to the linguistic variety found in Southeast Asian Pali, see G. Terral, "Samuddagghosajātaka — Conte Pāli tiré du Paññāsajātaka," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, XLVIII (1954), pp. 249–350.

I have routinely made some corrections in orthography in the edition without any acknowledgement in the critical apparatus. After the sixteenth century, the tradition of orthography in Sinhala, with respect to the letters "n," "ṇ," "l," and "ḷ," became confused, and these letters were used indiscriminately. This affected the transmission of texts both in Sinhala and Pali.¹ This confusion was not completely corrected until the twentieth century, and it is very apparent in all the manuscripts used in the edition. Similarly, the Pali "e" was pronounced as a Sinhala "ē", and the latter mode of representation is sometimes found in the manuscripts. All of these variations could have occurred to different copyists at similar points. Thus, these polygenetic "errors" have no value for constructing an edition, and there seems little reason to add to the number of notes by their scrupulous citation. The copyists of some of the manuscripts had a predilection always to write a long "ī," even where an "i" would be expected. The nature of Sinhala script also means that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish "u" and "ū"; I have often been guided by expectations of standard Pali.² In these cases there is some consistency, but still little value in their notation; their occurrence has not been included in the critical apparatus. The spelling of *nagara* has also been standardized; I have ignored the inconsistent use of the half-nasal, although this has long been noted as a frequent variation.³ It strikes me that this is also a polygenetic variation, with little value for establishing a text.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge that the collation of manuscripts for this edition was done in London while I was on a research leave funded by the American Council of Learned Societies and

¹ See Julius De Lanerolle, "Orthography," in *A Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language*, Vol. I, Part I (Colombo: Royal Asiatic Society — Ceylon Branch, 1935), pp. xxxix–xlv.

² On the confusions of these vowels in Southeast Asian Pali, see Terral, p. 310.

³ See Oscar Frankfurter, *A Handbook of Pāli* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1883), p. 7. Frankfurter calls this half-nasal "a mistake of the Sinhalese copyists."

Loyola University of Chicago. The generosity and assistance of Dr. Tadeusz Skorupski, Steven Bunes, and Patti Schor made the final machine-readable production of this edition possible. My friend, Dr. M.W. Wimal Wijeratna, both assisted and encouraged me in the collation; his help was indispensable in more ways than can ever be specified. My teacher, Professor G.D. Wijayawardhana, went over a draft of the edition with me, and made many suggestions for improvements, too numerous for individual citation in the notes. As with so much of my work, this edition would not have been possible without his help. To each of these institutions and individuals, I offer my sincere thanks.

NAMO TASSA BHAGAVATO SAMMĀSAMBUDDHASSA

Evam me sutam.¹ Ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Kapilavatthunagaraṃ upanissāya Rohananadiyā tīre² Nigrodhārāme viharanto devamanussānaṃ saṃgahaṃ karaṇatthāya³ madhurassarena dhammaṃ desento bahudevamanusse⁴ saggamokkhamagge paṭiṭṭhapento⁵ Nigrodhārāme paṭivasati. Tena kho pana samayena tasmiṃ⁶ yeva Kapilavatthunagare Tuṇḍilo nāma gahapati paṭivasati. So⁷ gahapati mahāvibhavasampanno bahudāsādāsī ca gomahisādayo ca dhanadhañño suvaṇṇarajatādīnī⁸ bahutarā bahukoṭṭhāgārānī⁹ sampanno ahosi. Bhariyāpissa Irandatī hoti.¹⁰

¹ A [sutam]

² A nadītīre

³ A saṃgahakaraṇatthāya; Z (karaṇatthāya)

⁴ C₁ C₂ (bahudevamanussesu)

⁵ AX [paṭiṭṭhanto]

⁶ Z [tasmin]

⁷ B omits so

⁸ BC₁C₂ suvaṇṇarajatādīnī

⁹ The plural instrumental would usually be expected here, e.g. bahukoṭṭhāgārehi.

¹⁰ Y ahosi

So gahapati ekadivasam¹ Bhagavato dhammadesanaṃ sotukāmatāya dīpadhūpagandhamālādīnī gāhāpetvā yena Bhagavā tenupasaṃkami.² Upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā dhammasabhāyaṃ³ nisinno dhammaṃ suṇāti. So gahapati dhammadesanāya pasīditvā evaṃ cintesi.⁴ Ahaṃ pubbesu dinnadānassa nissandena sucaritadhammena imasmiṃ yeva attabhāve mahādhano mahābhogo jāto. Puna⁵ idāni dānaṃ dātum⁶ vaṭṭatīti cintetvā Bhagavato dhammadesanāya pariyoṣāne Bhagavantaṃ vanditvā utṭhāyāsanaṃ parivārehi saddhim⁷ attano gehaṃ gantvā⁸ bhariyaṃ pakkosāpetvā evaṃ āha: Bhadde⁹ ahaṃ dānaṃ dātukāmomhīti.¹⁰ Sā¹¹ tassa¹² vacanaṃ sutvā, sādhu devā ti sampaṭicchī. Ubho pi jayampatikā dānassa vidhiṃ sajjetvā attano nivesanassa purato mahāmaṇḍapaṃ kāretvā¹³ Buddhapamukhassa bhikkhusaṃghassa nimantetvā maṇḍapamajjhe nisīdāpetvā nānā-khādaniyābhohanādī hi¹⁴ sampiṇḍetvā mahādānaṃ pavattesi.

¹ B ekaṃ divasaṃ; A [ekadivasaṃ]

² A omits upasaṃkami

³ Y (dhammasabhayan)

⁴ A cintetvāsi

⁵ A punā

⁶ C₂Y (dātun)

⁷ Y (saddhin); C₂ omits saddhim

⁸ C₁ gehagantvā

⁹ BC₁YZ bhaddenī

¹⁰ X dātukāmomha ti

¹¹ X (yā)

¹² Z sattavacanaṃ, although the sannaya glosses as if reading tassa.

¹³ C₂ kārapetvā

¹⁴ My word division here is based on an expectation of an accusative plural, with sampiṇḍeti, instead of reading an instrumental plural. Admittedly, the hi, attested in all manuscripts, then seems unnecessary in this context.

Atha kho¹ Bhagavā bhattakiccāvasāne Tuṇḍilagahapatikassa katadānasambhāraṃ disvā esa gahapatiko² pubbe katadānasambharena³ ajjeva tisu⁴ parimodito bhavissati,⁵ idāni pana tassa⁶ Tuṇḍilagahapatikassa pasādetum⁷ vattatīti cintetvā acchariyarūpaṃ pāṭihāriyaṃ akāsi. Buddhānaṃ sarīrato nīlapītalohitavadātamañjetṭhappabhassara-vasena⁸ tāni chabbannāraṃsivaṇṇāni vissajjesi. Tiriyaabhāgena anantalokadhātum⁹ pakkhandimsu. Adhobhāgena paṭhaviyā¹⁰ udakapariyantam vinivijjhitaṃ yāva¹¹ hetṭhā avīcikā dhāvanti. Uparibhāgena uggantvā yāva bhavaggā dhāvanti. Ettakaṃ panaṭṭhānaṃ¹² yeve¹³ ajjhotaritaṃ¹⁴ ahoṣi. Tadā Tuṇḍilagahapati¹⁵ idisassa¹⁶ pāṭihāriyavilāsaṃ¹⁷ disvā acchariyabbhuto¹⁸ pana manasā pītipharitaṃ¹⁹ hadayaṃ ahoṣi.

¹ C₁ places *atha kho* after *bhattakiccāvasāne*

² C₂ *gahapati*

³ A [*sambhāre*]; C₂ (*sambhāraṃ*)

⁴ A then inserts *manesu*

⁵ The meaning here is not immediately obvious. I would suggest that the Buddha is thinking that because of the fruit of *dāna* done previously, Tuṇḍila today will be thoroughly happy in three "places," that is, he will be happy about his past, present, and future.

⁶ C₁ omits *tassa*

⁷ A [*pasādetum*]

⁸ A omits *avadāta*; AXZ [°*mañjetṭhappabhassara*-]

⁹ Y (*lokadhātum*)

¹⁰ Z omits *paṭhaviyā*

¹¹ X (*yā*)

¹² Non-standard *sandhi* for *pana ṭhānaṃ* ?

¹³ B omits *yeve*

¹⁴ Emend to *ajjhottharitaṃ* ?

¹⁵ AB *gahapatino*; C₂ *gahapatiko*; Y *gahapatiputto*

¹⁶ B (*idissa*)

¹⁷ C₂ *pāṭihāriyaṃ*

¹⁸ B *acchariya abbhuto*

¹⁹ C₂YZ *pītipūritaṃ*

Atha kho Bhagavā tassa ajjhāsayaṃ ñatvā idāni assa dānaṃ vaṇṇitum¹ vattatīti cintetvā gahapatiṃ etad avoca, Bho gahapati, ajjadivase te ativiya mahantaṃ dānaṃ² dinnaṃ. Dānaṃ hi³ nāmetaṃ porānakapaṇḍitānaṃ paveniyaṃ ti. Gahapati, ahaṃ pubbe bodhisattassa kāle aparipakkaññāna⁴ bodhiññānaṃ gavesanattāya caranto mahādānaṃ adāsim⁵ yevāti. Tena phalena idāni buddho hutvā⁶ sabbaññutaññānaṃ paṭilabhissāmi.⁷ Ṭhapetvā dānaṃ, buddhapacceka⁸ buddhā arahantādini⁸ paṭivijjhitaṃ nāsakkhimsu.⁹ Tasmā dānaṃ hi nāmetaṃ mahapphalaṃ mahānisamsaṃ hotīti vatvā Tuṇḍilagahapatikassa dānānisamsaṃ pakāsento Sathā imaṃ gātham āha:¹⁰

Dānaṃ¹¹ issariyabbhutaṃ¹² dānaṃ bhogaṃ upaṭṭhitaṃ,
Dānaṃ atthānurakkhā ca dānaṃ sukhaṃ¹³ pavaḍḍhitaṃ.

Aggassa vattum dadataṃ aggaṃ puññaṃ¹⁴ pavaḍḍhati,
Aggo āyuṇca vaṇṇo ca yaso kittisukhaṃ balaṃ.

¹ C₂ omits *vaṇṇitum*

² Y *dhānaṃ*

³ Y (*dānaṃ*)

⁴ C₂ *aparipakkaññāto*

⁵ YZ [*āsi*]; BX (*adāsi*)

⁶ BC₂Z [*sutvā*]

⁷ The future would not normally be expected here.

⁸ C₁ *arahantādi*

⁹ Y (*nasakkinsu*)

¹⁰ C₂YZ [*gātham māha*]

¹¹ *Dānaṃ* is preceded by *loke* in BC₁XYZ, which, however, disrupts the metre of the *gāthā*.

¹² ABZ *issariya abbhutaṃ*; Y *issariyamabbhutaṃ*; C₁ (*isvāryā abbhutaṃ*); X (*issaya abbhutaṃ*)

¹³ A *sukha-*

¹⁴ BY *aggapūññaṃ*

Aggassa vatthum dadatam aggadhammasamāhito,¹
Devabhūto manusso vā aggaṃ sukhaṃ pamodati.

Sabbakāmadadaṃ² dānaṃ yaṃ³ icchaṃ paripūrati,
Dānaṃ⁴ nidhikumbhūpamaṃ dānaṃ kapparukkhopamaṃ.⁵

Yathā vārivāho puro sabbakālam na khīyati,
Evaṃ dānaṃ dadantassa sabbabhogā na khīyati.

Rājāno ca⁶ corā ca aggaṃ udakaṃ eva ca
Appiyā ca ime pañca na ca bhogā⁷ haranti taṃ.

Tasmā hi dānaṃ dātābbaṃ dānaṃ daliddabhāriyaṃ,
Dānaṃ tāṇaṃ⁸ manussassa dānaṃ⁹ nirayamocanaṃ.¹⁰

Dānaṃ saggassa sopānaṃ dānaṃ mokkhapathaṃ vamaṃ,
Pavesanāya nibbānaṃ dānaṃ¹¹ dvārasamaṃ mataṃ.

Dānaṃ pavaḍḍhitā bhogā dānaṃ bhogassa dhārayo,
Dānaṃ bhogaṇi¹² rakkhanti¹³ dānaṃ rakkhanti jīvitam.

¹ AC₂X aggo dhammo samāhito; C₁ aggadhammo samāhito

² C₂YZ sabbadā kāmadaṃ

³ A omits yaṃ

⁴ A omits dānaṃ

⁵ X kapparukkhupamaṃ

⁶ ABC₂ ceva; C₁ omits ca

⁷ Bhoga is apparently being declined like a feminine noun, here in the accusative plural.

⁸ C₁C₂YZ omit dānaṃ tāṇaṃ

⁹ Z adds tāṇaṃ

¹⁰ A nirayapamocanaṃ; C₂ (nirayavacanaṃ)

¹¹ Z omits dānaṃ

¹² Z bhogā

¹³ Here bhoga is apparently taken as a neuter noun. If, as suggested by Z, it is taken as a nominative, in agreement with the plural verb, the line reads "Material

Yo yaṃ attani¹ jīvitam mahantaṃ issariyaṃ² labhe,
Mahādhana mahābhogaṇaṃ³ yaṃ⁴ icchaṃ labhate⁵ sadā.⁶

Rukkhaḡge⁷ pabbatagge vā antalikkhe vā⁸ sāgare,
Yathā⁹ thitā¹⁰ paṭitṭhanti annaṃ pānaṃ ca¹¹ vatthukā.¹²
Saddhāya dinnam dānaṃ¹³ yaṃ vadanti mahapphalaṃ,¹⁴
Saddhāpubbaṅgamaṃ¹⁵ dānaṃ appakiccaṃ pi yaṃ kataṃ.

Pasannā tisu kālesu labhanti tividhaṃ sukhaṃ,
Sukhaṃ¹⁶ deti manussesu saggesu paramaṃ sukhaṃ.

Tato ca¹⁷ nibbānasukhaṃ sabbam dānena¹⁸ labbhati,
Padesarajjaṃ¹⁹ issariyaṃ cakkavattissiriṃ²⁰ pi ca,

goods protect *dāna*." While grammatically correct, the more expected meaning would be "Dāna protects material goods." The second foot of the line illustrates a similar confusion about verbal agreement.

¹ Y omits attani

² Z [iscariyaṃ]

³ YZ [mahādhanaṃ mahābhogaṇaṃ]; C₂ omits mahādhana; C₂Z add sadā here

⁴ Y omits yaṃ

⁵ AC₂X labhati

⁶ YZ omit sadā

⁷ C₂ adds vā

⁸ AC₁XYZ ca

⁹ Z yatā

¹⁰ BC₁C₂X (thito)

¹¹ AC₂ pānaṃ ca

¹² C₁ annapānavatthukā

¹³ A dinnam yaṃ dānaṃ

¹⁴ C₁Z [mahatphalam]

¹⁵ ABC₂YZ saddhāpubbaṅgamaṃ;

¹⁶ A sabbam

¹⁷ YZ omit ca

¹⁸ X sabbadānena

¹⁹ A [padesarajja]

²⁰ Y cakkavattissirim

Devarajjam¹ pi saggesu sabbam dānena labbhati.²

Yā manussesu sampatti³ devalokesu yā rati,
Yā ca nibbānasampatti sabbam dānena labbhati.

Yā ca sāvaka bodhi ca paccekamunibodhi yā,
Tathāgatassa bodhi yā sabbam dānena⁴ labbhati.

Ye ca buddhā atītesu samudde vālukupamā,⁵
Dānañ ca adhikaṃ katvā sambodhiñ ca labhanti⁶ te.

Evaṃ eva gahapati dānam hi nāmetam mahāguṇam
mahānisamsan ti evam Bhagavā Tuṇḍilagahapatikassa dānānisamsam
desesi.⁷ Dānakathānantaram silānisamsam kathetum ārabhi.⁸

Sīlam hi nāmetam gahapati⁹ idhalokassa paralokassa¹⁰
sampattimūlam.¹¹ Sīlasadiso avassayo nāma natthi. Sīlasadiso añño
patiṭṭhā¹² nāma¹³ natthi.¹⁴ Sīlasamam aññaṃ thānam¹⁵ natthi.¹⁶ Sīlasamam

¹ Z *devarajjam pi*

² X omits whole *gāthā*

³ C₁C₂ (*sampattim*)

⁴ XY *sabbadānena*

⁵ *Vālukopamā* would be expected according to more standard *sandhi*. ABC₂Z
vatthukupamā

⁶ ABC₂XYZ [*labbanti*]

⁷ A omits preceding sentence.

⁸ Z *silānisamsam kathetum*; Y (*kathetun*)

⁹ BC₂ omit *gahapati*

¹⁰ YZ *idhalokaparalokassa*

¹¹ C₂ *sampattim mūlam*; this may be a contamination from the *pada ānuma*.

¹² B *patiṭṭho*, a feminine noun apparently taken as a masculine, but an obvious
attempt to create some agreement between the noun and adjectives. Emend line
to *Sīlasadisā añña patiṭṭhā ... ?*

¹³ X (*nāman*)

¹⁴ C₁ omits preceding sentence.

¹⁵ Emend to *tānam ?*

¹⁶ C₁X omit preceding sentence.

aññaṃ ābharaṇam natthi.¹ Sīlasamo añño alaṅkāro² natthi. Sīlasamo³ añño
gandho nāma natthi. Sīlasamam aññaṃ kilesamalavisodhanam⁴ natthi.
Sīlasamam aññaṃ rūpataram⁵ natthi. Sīlasamam aññaṃ
saggārohaṇasopānam natthi. Nibbānanagarappavesanathāya⁶ sīlasamam
aññaṃ dvāram nāma natthi.⁷ Sīlasamam aññaṃ nagaram natthi.⁸ Atha
kho⁹ Bhagavā Tuṇḍilagahapatikassa silānisamsam dassento¹⁰ imam
gātham āha:¹¹

Sīlam sukhānam paramam nidānam¹²
sīlena sīlin tidivaṃ payāti,
Sīlam hi samsāram upāgatassa
tānañ ca lenaṃ ca parāyanañ ca.

Yathā nabham tārāgaṇābhipūritam¹³
visuddhakam candavinā na sobhati,¹⁴
Tathā naro rūpakulavibhājito
yasassi¹⁵ vā sīlavinā na sobhate.¹⁶

¹ X then inserts: *Sīlam sāmam dhānam natthi. Sīlasamam aññaṃ parāyanam
natthi.*

² B adds *nāma*; Z [*alaṅkāro*]

³ C₂ (*sīlasamam*)

⁴ Z [*kilesamalavisodhanam*]

⁵ AX *abhirūpataram*

⁶ X *nibbānanagarassa pavesanathāya*

⁷ The preceding two sentences may be compared to Vism 10:

*Saggārohaṇasopānam aññaṃ sīlasamam kuto,
dvāram vā pana nibbāna-nagarassa pavesane ?*

⁸ AC₁W omit preceding two sentences.

⁹ Z [*khe*]; A omits *kho*

¹⁰ C₁ *desento*; Z [*dassente*]

¹¹ C₁C₂YZ [*gātham māha*]

¹² Z *nidhānam*

¹³ Z *tārāgaṇa*

¹⁴ B *sobhate*

¹⁵ A *yasassa*; Z [*yasavā*]

¹⁶ Z *sobhati*

Suddhammake accharadevatā yathā
alamkatā tattha vasanti tā sadā,
Purindadevena vinā na sobhate¹
saññātikā silavinā na sobhate.²

Yathā kumāro mañimuttabhūsito³
suvatthadhāro⁴ subhagandhavajjito,⁵
Tathā naro dānavibhūsitamaṇḍito⁶
na sobhate silavilepanaṃ vinā.⁷

Yathā vanaṃ chappadapakkhisamaṅgaṇaṃ⁸
vasantakāle⁹ kusumehi maṇḍitaṃ,
Na sobhate¹⁰ kokilavajjitaṃ¹¹ vinā
yathā pi yo silavinā na sobhate.¹²

Yathā gharadārakumāravāsitaṃ
dhanālayaṃ nātigaṇena ākulaṃ,¹³

¹ Z [sobhati]; emend to *sobhante* ?

² Z [sobhati]; emend to *sobhante* ?

³ C₁C₂ mañimuttavibhūsito

⁴ C₁C₂ (savatthadhāro)

⁵ Z [suṅgandhavajjito]

⁶ A [dānavisamaṇḍito], perhaps this is an error for *dānavilāsamaṇḍito*, which would be less redundant and fit the metre better; Z *vibhūsi*, a variant of *vibhūṣā* ?; Z also includes in the *sannaya* a correction to *silavibhūsimamaṇḍito*.

⁷ BC₁C₂Z add another [na sobhate] here.

⁸ C₁C₂ chappadapakkhiṃ samgaṇaṃ

⁹ C₁ vasantakālesu

¹⁰ C₁C₂YZ omit na sobhate

¹¹ Some emendation seems necessary; perhaps *kokilakūjitaṃ* ?

¹² C₁Z [omit na]. As it stands, the last foot comes close to being a *locus desperatus*. Perhaps this incomplete line should be emended to *tathā pi so silavinā na sobhate*, which while still awkward, could be read, “so, indeed, he who is without *śīla* does not shine.”

¹³ Emend to *nātigaṇena ākulaṃ* or *nātigaṇānaṃ ākulaṃ*, “crowded with a host (or hosts) of relatives ?”

Vinā¹ tivuḍḍhena² na sobhate tathā
guṇo pi yo silavinā na sobhate.

Nagaraṃ yathā naranārīhi pūritaṃ³
hatthīhi assehi samaṅgibhūtaṃ,
Etaṃ hi rañña⁴ vinā na sobhate⁵
sa bhogavā silavinā na sobhate.
Yathā nāgo⁶ balavo⁷ mahanto
Gajuttamo sabba aṅgehi pūrito
Dantena vinā so nāgo⁸ na sobhate
Tathā hi so⁹ surūpino¹⁰ silavinā¹¹ na sobhate.¹²

Yathā talākaṃ¹³ udakena pūritaṃ¹⁴
Hamsagaṇānaṃ sañcaritaṃ¹⁵ tathā pi¹⁶
Na sobhate¹⁷ padumuppalaṃ¹⁸ vinā,
Tathā naro rūpakulābhilaṃkato

¹ C₁YZ [add *tathā*] before *vinā*; C₂ (adds *yathā*)

² YZ *uḍḍhena*; for the three kinds of elder, see PTSD, s.v. *vaddha*.

³ AC₁C₂XZ [puritā]; B (purita)

⁴ Apparently from *rañjā*, but it is unclear just what case is intended.

⁵ A *visobhate*

⁶ A *nāgo yathā*

⁷ Emend to *balavā* ?

⁸ C₁C₂YZ omit *so nāgo*

⁹ Z omits *so*

¹⁰ X *rūpino*

¹¹ AB *silā*

¹² C₁ omits the difficult last foot of this verse; to accommodate the requirements of metre, the last foot might be emended to: *tathā hi so surūpino silavinā*, leaving *na sobhate* implied by syntactical parallels.

¹³ B *talākaṃ*, from *taṭṭa* ?

¹⁴ YZ add [*tathā pi*]; C₂ adds (*yathā pi*)

¹⁵ AB [*sañcaritā*]

¹⁶ YZ omit *tathā pi*

¹⁷ ABC₁C₂X add *sā*, a feminine demonstrative pronoun used in place of a neuter ?

¹⁸ BC₁C₂X (*padumuppalaṃ*)

Na sobhate sīlavivajjito.¹

Dibbehi vaṇṇehi samānarūpino

Alaṃkato² sabbavibhūsitehi

Annaṃ vinā so na vibhati rūpino,³

Tathā naro dhanadhaññabhogino⁴

Na sobhate⁵ sīlavivajjitena.⁶

Ye keci sīlaṃ rakkhanti sabbadukkhā pamuccare,

Yathā dīghāyukā honti yāva nibbānapattiyā.⁷

Khaṇena⁸ sīlaṃ rakkheyya⁹ appameyyaphalaṃ¹⁰ siyā,¹¹

Anantagaṇasaṃyuttaṃ¹² sabbabuddhehi vaṇṇitaṃ.

Hīnena brahmacariyena¹³ khattiye upapajjati,¹⁴

Majjhimena ca¹⁵ devattaṃ uttamaṇa¹⁶ visujjhati.

¹ C₁ sīlavajjito; AB then add *naro*; Y adds *na sobhate*; C₁C₂ add *naro na sobhate*; all of these additions may be attempts to restore some semblance of a metre to this either poorly written or poorly transmitted verse.

² ABX [*alaṃkata*]

³ Z [*rūpino sīlavivajjitena na sobhate*]; X (*rūpinā*)

⁴ B *dhanabhogino*; C₁C₂Y omit *tathā naro dhanadhaññabhogino*

⁵ C₂Y omit *na sobhate*

⁶ Y then adds *na sobhate*

⁷ C₁Z *nibbānasampattiyā*

⁸ A [*khaṇe*]

⁹ Z [*rakkheyya*]; C₂ (*rakkhaya*)

¹⁰ AB [omit *phalaṃ*]

¹¹ AB [add *sīlaṃ*]

¹² C₁C₂ (*anantagaṇasaṃyuttaṃ*)

¹³ Y (*brahmacariyehi*)

¹⁴ C₁ (*uppajjati*)

¹⁵ X omits *ca*

¹⁶ X (*uttame*)

Pāṇātipātā veramaṇiyā sabbaṅgehi pūritā,¹

Rūpavā sukhasampanno dīghāyuko arogino.

Adinnādānā veramaṇiyā pahūtadhanadhaññavā,²

Rājāno ceva corā ca aggaṃ udakam eva ca

Appiyā vā ime pañca asādhāraṇabhogavā.

Kāmesu micchācārā³ veramaṇiyā itthibhāvā pamuccitā,⁴

Sabbaṅgehi sampanno abhayā sukhavīhārino.⁵

Musāvādā veramaṇiyā puthupaññā visāradā,⁶

Mukho⁷ ca gandhasampanno amusāmadhurabhāsītā.

Surāpānā veramaṇiyā na ummattā⁸ amohadā,

Hiri ottappasampanno saccavādasurūpitā.⁹

Evam eva gahapati sīlaṃ hi nāmetaṃ mahāgaṇaṃ mahānisamsaṃ¹⁰ ti evam eva gahapati Bhagavā Tuṇḍilagahapatikassa sīlānisamsaṃ kathesi. Puna Bhagavā etad avoca: Yo hi koci purisapuggalo itthi vā puriso vā khattiyo vā khattiyā¹¹ vā brāhmaṇo vā brāhmaṇī vā

¹ A [*pūritaṃ*]

² C₂Y *pahūtadhanadhañño*

³ A *micchācāriyā*; Y *micchācāraveramaṇiyā*

⁴ ABX *pamuccitā*

⁵ Y *sukhasampanno*

⁶ Z [*puthupaññā visāradu*]

⁷ X *mukhe*

⁸ Take *na ummattā* as a crude way of creating the antonym of *ummattā* ? or as a mistake for *anummattā* ?

⁹ A *saccāvādisurūpitā*; C₁ *surūpito*; C₂ *sabbavādasurūpitā*

¹⁰ C₁ *mahāgaṇamahānisamsaṃ*; XY *mahānisamsaṃ ti*

¹¹ BC₁C₂YZ [*khattiyāni*]

gahapatiko vā gahapatānī¹ vā daliddo vā² daliddī vā,³ ekaṃ bhikkhave⁴ rakkhitabbam. Katamaṃ ekaṃ rakkhitabbam ? Pāṇātipātā paṭivirato⁵ hoti, Pubbavidehānaṃ rājāno⁶ hoti mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo hoti. Dutiyam pi bhikkhave sīlaṃ⁷ rakkhitabbam. Katamaṃ dutiyaṃ sīlaṃ rakkhitabbam ?⁸ Adinnādānaṃ pahāya adinnādānapaṭivirato hoti, Aparagoyāne manussānaṃ rājāno hoti⁹ mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo hoti. Tatiyam pi bhikkhave sīlaṃ¹⁰ rakkhitabbam. Katamaṃ¹¹ tatiyaṃ sīlaṃ rakkhitabbam ? Abrahmacariyaṃ pahāya abrahmacariyā paṭivirato hoti, Uttarakurudīpassa rājāno hoti¹² mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo hoti. Bhikkhave catuttham pi sīlaṃ¹³ rakkhitabbam. Katamaṃ catuttham sīlaṃ rakkhitabbam ? Musāvādaṃ¹⁴ pahāya¹⁵ musāvādā veramaṇiyā paṭivirato¹⁶ hoti, sakalajambudīpamanussānaṃ rājāno honti¹⁷ cakkavattirajjasirīṃ paṭilabhati mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo hoti. Bhikkhave pañcamam pi¹⁸ sīlaṃ rakkhitabbam. Katamaṃ ? Surāmerayamajjapamādaṭṭhānaṃ¹⁹

¹ AC₂ [gahapatinī]

² C₁ omits *daliddo vā*

³ Y omits from *gahapatiko* to *daliddi vā*

⁴ BC₁C₂Y Bhikkhave ekaṃ; X ekaṃ sīlaṃ bhikkhave

⁵ A [paṭivira]

⁶ A plural form used for the singular ?; similar solecisms are found below.

⁷ C₁C₂Y Bhikkhave dutiyaṃ pi sīlaṃ

⁸ X omits *dutiyaṃ sīlaṃ rakkhitabbam*

⁹ C₂X honti

¹⁰ YZ Bhikkhave tatiyaṃ sīlaṃ; C₁C₂ Bhikkhave tatiyaṃ pi sīlaṃ

¹¹ ABZ add *sīlaṃ* here

¹² AC₁C₂ honti

¹³ A Catuttham pi sīlaṃ bhikkhave sīlaṃ; X Catuttham pi sīlaṃ bhikkhave

¹⁴ B (Musāvādā)

¹⁵ AX omit *musāvādaṃ pahāya*

¹⁶ Y (paṭivīraso); there is an obvious confusion in the clause as it stands, since it says the opposite of what must be intended.

¹⁷ BY hoti

¹⁸ AY Pañcamam pi bhikkhave; X (pañcam pi bhikkhave); C₁C₂ (Bhikkhave pañcam pi)

¹⁹ A [°pamādaṭṭha]

pahāya surāmerayamajjapamādaṭṭhānā paṭivirato hoti, cātummahā-rājikānaṃ devānaṃ rājāno hoti¹ tattha mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo devaputto hoti.

Bhikkhave chaṭṭham pi² sīlaṃ rakkhitabbam. Katamaṃ chaṭṭham³ sīlaṃ rakkhitabbam ? Vikālabhojanaṃ⁴ pahāya vikālabhojanā paṭivirato hoti, Tāvatiṃsānaṃ devānaṃ rājāno honti mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo devaputto hoti. Bhikkhave sattam pi⁵ sīlaṃ rakkhitabbam. Katamaṃ sattamam pi⁶ bhikkhave sīlaṃ rakkhitabbam ? Naccagīta-vāditam⁷ pahāya naccagītavādītā⁸ paṭivirato hoti, Yāmānaṃ devānaṃ⁹ rājāno honti¹⁰ mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo hoti.¹¹ Bhikkhave aṭṭhamam¹² pi¹³ sīlaṃ rakkhitabbam.¹⁴ Mālāgandhavilepanaṃ pahāya mālāgandhavilepanā¹⁵ paṭivirato hoti, Tusitānaṃ devānaṃ rājāno honti mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo hoti. Bhikkhave navamam¹⁶ pi¹⁷ sīlaṃ rakkhitabbam. Bhikkhave katamaṃ¹⁸ navamaṃ sīlaṃ rakkhitabbam ? Uccāsayaṇaṃ¹⁹

¹ X honti

² AX Chaṭṭham pi bhikkhave

³ C₂ chaṭṭham pi

⁴ A [Vikālabhojanā]

⁵ AC₂X Sāttam pi bhikkhave; *sattamam* would normally be expected.

⁶ BC₁C₂ sattam pi

⁷ A [naccagītavāditam]

⁸ XYZ [naccagītavādita]

⁹ Y Yāmādevānaṃ

¹⁰ B hoti

¹¹ Y (honti)

¹² BC₁C₂Y aṭṭham

¹³ ABC₁C₂X Aṭṭhamam pi (or Aṭṭham pi, as in previous note) bhikkhave

¹⁴ According to the previous syntactical pattern, a phrase using *katamaṃ* would be expected here. Since the text makes sense without the phrase, however, it is not possible to infer that there is a gap or lacuna here.

¹⁵ AC₁C₂Y [mālāgandhavilepanaṃ]

¹⁶ C₂Y (navam pi)

¹⁷ ABX Navamam pi bhikkhave

¹⁸ ABX Katamaṃ bhikkhave

¹⁹ A uccāsayaṇamahāsayaṇaṃ; C₂ uccāsayaṇamahāsayaṇānaṃ

pahāya uccāsayanamahāsayanā paṭivirato hoti, Nimmānaratīnaṃ¹ devānaṃ rājāno² honti mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo hoti. Bhikkhave dasamaṃ³ sīlaṃ⁴ rakkhitabbaṃ.⁵ Bhikkhave katamaṃ⁶ dasasīlaṃ⁷ rakkhitabbaṃ? Jātarūparajatapāṭiggahaṇaṃ⁸ pahāya⁹ jātarūparajatapāṭiggahanā paṭivirato hoti, Paranimmittavasavattīnaṃ devānaṃ rājāno honti mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo hoti. Bhikkhave imāni dasasīlāni¹⁰ rakkhitabbaṃ, iti imaṃ Satthā¹¹ gātham āha:¹²

Sataṃ hatthi sataṃ assā sataṃ assasarīrathā¹³
Sataṃ kaññā sahaṣṣāni¹⁴ āmuttamaṇikuṇḍalā
Ekassa padavītiḥārassa kalam nāgghanti soḷasiṃ.

Dveme kule uppajjanti khattiye cāpi¹⁵ brāhmaṇe
Hīne kule¹⁶ na¹⁷ jāyanti sīlaṃ rakkhayidaṃ phalaṃ.

¹ A *Nimmānaṃ ratīnaṃ*; X *Nimmākaratīnaṃ*; Y *Nibbānaratīnaṃ*

² A *rājā*

³ A *Dasasīlaṃ bhikkhave*

⁴ C₂ *dasasīlaṃ*

⁵ Y *sīlarakkhitabbaṃ*

⁶ ABXY *Katamaṃ bhikkhave*

⁷ Emend to *dasamaṃ sīlaṃ* ?

⁸ B *Jātarūparajatapāṭiggahaṇā*; C₁C₂ °*patiggahānaṃ*

⁹ X omits *jātarūparajatapāṭiggahaṇaṃ pahāya*

¹⁰ ABC₁C₂X *Imāni dasasīlāni bhikkhave*

¹¹ Y (*Sattham*)

¹² Z *evam āha*; perhaps this variant is an instance of contamination from a *pada ānuma*, since it agrees with a gloss found in C₂.

¹³ BC₂Z [*assasarīrathā*]; emend to *assatarīrathā* ?

¹⁴ Y omits *sahaṣṣāni*

¹⁵ Z *vāpi*; Y *ca*

¹⁶ C₁ *Hinakule*

¹⁷ AY omit *na*

Anantabhogasampannaṃ anantabalavāhanaṃ
Nārivaragaṇākiṇṇaṃ sīlaṃ rakkhayidaṃ¹ phalaṃ.²

Hatthi assārathā pattī senā hi³ caturaṅgini
Samanā parivārenti sīlaṃ rakkhayidaṃ⁴ phalaṃ.⁵
Kaye candanagandho ca mukhe vāyanti uppalaṃ
Sattayojanaṃ⁶ vāyanti sīlaṃ rakkhayidaṃ⁷ phalaṃ.

Mahāpuññā mahātejā mahāpaññā mahāyasā⁸
Mahābalā mahāthamā sīlaṃ rakkhayidaṃ⁹ phalaṃ.

Sīlaṃ ābharaṇaṃ setthaṃ sīlābharaṇaṃ uttamaṃ
Sīlaṃ apāyabhāyajananaṃ¹⁰ sīlaṃ rakkhayidaṃ¹¹ phalaṃ.

¹ B *rakkha idam*; C₁C₂ *rakkham idam*

² A omits this verse.

³ BZ *senāya*; C₁X omit *hi*

⁴ BY *rakkha idam*; C₁ *rakkheyya idam phalaṃ*; C₂ *rakkham*

⁵ AX then add:

*Hemavanto surūpo ca piyā[†] ca manvaḍḍhati
Paṭcākalyāṇasampanno susaṇṇatanaṃajjhima[†]
Lābhino^{*} sabbabhogānaṃ sīlaṃ rakkhayidaṃ phalaṃ*

[†] Emend to *piyo* or take as an accusative plural ?

[†] The meaning of this pada is unclear — perhaps “because of being (even) moderately well-restrained”.

^{*} Nominative plural used for *lābhī* ?

⁶ A *sattayojana*

⁷ BC₁YZ *rakkha idam*

⁸ A omits *mahāyasā*

⁹ BC₁C₂ *rakkham*; Y *rakkha idam*

¹⁰ There is an apparent violation of metre here. A possible emendation which would restore the metre might be *abhayajananaṃ*: “*sīla* produces a lack of fear (about hell)”, rather than “*sīla* produces fear about hell.”

¹¹ BYZ *rakkha idam*; C₁C₂ *rakkham idam*

Candanam tagaram cāpi¹ uppalam attha vassikī²
Etesam gandhajātānam silagandho anuttaro.

Dasasīlānisamsam³ silakathānantaram saggakathā kathetum⁴ ārabhi. Sakko hi nāmetam gahapati Indo manāpo ekantasukho niccam Sinerumatthake⁵ Tāvatimsabhavane dibbayasena abhiramanti. Niccam dibbasampattim⁶ abhiramitvā⁷ dibbehi rūpehi⁸ samannāgato dibbehi vatthālamkārehi samannāgato⁹ patimaṇḍitā dibbamālāgandhavilepanehi vibhusitā¹⁰ dibbehi pañcaṅgikaturiyehi sadā pappoṭhitā¹¹ dibbehi naccagītavāditehi nanditā niccam dibbasampattim¹² abhiramanti.

Cātummahārājikānam¹³ devānam āyuppanānam navutivassasatasahassāni ettakam pana kalam dibbasampattisukkhānam anubhavanti. Tāvatimse¹⁴ devānam pana āyuppanānam pana tisso¹⁵ ca vassakoṭiyo saddhiṃ ca vassasatasahassāni honti. Ettakāni¹⁶ āyuppanānāni dibbasampattim¹⁷ anubhavitā abhiramimsu.¹⁸ Yāmānam devānam āyuppanānam

¹ X vāpi

² BC₁XYZ [vassikhī]

³ Y silānisamsam; C₂ dasasīlānisamsam ti

⁴ A saggakathetum; C₁ saggakathānukathetum

⁵ AZ [Sinerumatthake]

⁶ C₂Y (dibbasampatti)

⁷ Y anubhavitvā

⁸ BC₁C₂YZ [omit rūpehi]

⁹ A samannāgatā

¹⁰ All manuscripts indicate a full stop here, using a *kuṇḍiliya*, although this leaves a sentence with only an implied verb.

¹¹ A pappoyitā; C₁C₂ (pappoṭhitā); X (pappothitā)

¹² AC₁ dibbasampatti

¹³ AY [Cātummahārājikā]

¹⁴ C₂ Tāvatimsānam; A [Tāvatimso]

¹⁵ Emend to tiṃsā ?

¹⁶ Z [ettakāni]

¹⁷ C₁ dibbasampatti; B adds sukhānam

¹⁸ Z [abhiramimsu]

cuddasakoṭiyo¹ ca cattālīsavassasatasahassāni honti. Ettakam pana kalam dibbasampattim anubhavitvā abhiramissanti. Tusitānam² devānam āyuppanānam sattapaññāsavassakoṭiyo saddhiṃ ca vassasatasahassāni honti. Ettakam³ pana kalam⁴ āyūni dibbasukham dibbasampattim⁵ anubhavitvā⁶ abhiramissanti.⁷ Nimmānaratīnam⁸ devānam āyuppanānam dvevassakoṭiyo satāni tiṃsaṃ ca vassakoṭiyo cattālīsāni ca vassasatasahassāni honti. Ettakāni⁹ pana āyūni dibbasukham dibbasampattim anubhavitvā abhiramimsu.¹⁰ Paranimmittavasavattīnam devānam āyuppanānam navavassakoṭiyo satāni¹¹ tiṃsaṃ ca vassakoṭiyo¹² saddhiṃ ca vassasatasahassāni honti. Ettakāni pana āyūni dibbasukham dibbasampattim anubhavitvā abhiramimsu. Tattha uppajjitvā dīgharattam¹³ abhiramimsu.

Sakkassa devānam Indassa pāsādo¹⁴ pākārehi parikkhittam¹⁵ sāvīthiyā¹⁶ uyyānam sāpokkharani¹⁷ sākapparukkham¹⁸ sāhatthiyānam

¹ AC₂X [chuddasa-]

² X Tuhitānam; an example of the influence of Sinhala phonology on Pali orthography ?

³ X Ettakāni

⁴ X omits kalam

⁵ C₁C₂ dibbam sampattim; Z dibbasampatti

⁶ A then adds abhiramitvā

⁷ X abhiramimsu

⁸ A then adds pana

⁹ Z [ettakam]

¹⁰ X omits preceding two sentences.

¹¹ A navavassakoṭisatāni

¹² A then adds [satāyo]; C₂ adds satānitim

¹³ BC₂ (dīgharattim)

¹⁴ Y then adds hoti

¹⁵ Emend to parikkhito ?

¹⁶ A sāvīthi

¹⁷ Z [sāpokkharani]; emend sā throughout sentence to sa ?

¹⁸ ABY (sākapparukkha); C₂ (sākapparukkā)

sāassayānaṃ sārathayānaṃ. Tasmim¹ yeva pokkharāṇiye² padumuppalaṃ³ puṇḍarīkaṇ⁴ ca tale t̥hitam⁵ nānā pupphāni anuvātaṃ paṭivātaṃ vāyanti. Pañcaṅgikaturiyāni niccaṃ ramaṇiyaṃ karonti. Devehi sabbaturiyāni vāḍenti⁶ madhurassarena gītasaddena gīyanti⁷ naccan⁸ tā rattim divā pabodhenti.

Tādisaṃ Sakkasukkhamaṃ pi puṇṇakammaṃ⁹ akarantehi na laddhaṃ. Imasmim yeve loke ye keci kammaṃ karā¹⁰ vā mātāpituposakā dānaṃ dadantā sīlaṃ rakkhantā bhavitā Buddhassa vā Dhammassa vā Saṃghassa vā ye keci sakkāraṃ karonto¹¹ pūjanīyyānaṃ¹² pūjantā vandaniṭā¹³ puṇṇakammesu appammattāko¹⁴ te sabbe janā tādisaṃ dibbasukhaṃ dibbasampattim paṭilabhitvā dīgharattaṃ¹⁵ abhiramiṃsu.

¹ X (*tasmin*)

² Y (*pokkharāṇiye*); emend to *pokkharāṇiyā*

³ BC₂ (*upphalaṃ*)

⁴ XY (*upphalapuṇḍarīkaṇca*)

⁵ C₁C₂Z *talet̥hitam*

⁶ *Vāḍenti*, a causative, is apparently being used as a passive, or perhaps *devehi* should be taken as *deve hi*, with an accusative plural used as a nominative. Some emendation would thus seem appropriate here.

⁷ A *gīyanti*; in both cases a denominative verb form is used instead of the more standard *gāyanti*.

⁸ B *naccan*

⁹ X *puṇṇaṃ kammaṃ*

¹⁰ X *kammakarā*

¹¹ Emend to *karontā*?

¹² YZ *pūjaneyyanaṃ*

¹³ X *vandanīyānaṃ vandantā*

¹⁴ Emend to *appammattā*?

¹⁵ BC₂ (*dīgharattim*)

Evaṃ Bhagavā saggaṇapaṭisaṃyuttaṃ¹ dhammadesanaṃ Tuṇḍilassa gahapatiputtassa² desesi.

Puna ayaṃ saggo anicco addhuvo. Sabbe³ pi devā tathā yāvataṃ sukhaṃ t̥hatvā puna puṇṇakkhayā ramaṇīyyasaggato cavitvā pana puṇṇajātiyaṃ uppajjanti. Tasmā gahapati ayaṃ saggo nāma anicco addhuvo sabbasaṃkhāresu jigucchikātaṃ yuttaṃ⁴ na heṭṭhāchandarāgo kātabbo. Alaṃ piyāyitaṃ alaṃ tussitaṃ alaṃ vivajjitaṃ vimuḍitaṃ.⁵

Evaṃ Bhagavā saggakathānantaraṃ kāmesu dosaṃ dassetaṃ⁶ ārabhi. Bho gahapati kāmē⁷ hi nāmetaṃ mahantaṃ ghorataraṃ dukkhaṃ paṭivadeti. Kāmaṃ nissāya bahusoko bahūpāyaso bahūpaddavo dukkhena sayati dukkhena na parimuccati. Niccaṃ uppekkhaggacitto hoti,⁸ niccaṃ dummukho hoti, niccaṃ soko hoti, niccaṃ ḍasito hoti,⁹ niccaṃ aññehi pīlito hoti, niccaṃ bahudukkho hoti. Kāmena icchā nāma na ciraṃ tiṭṭhanti.¹⁰ Padumupattato¹¹ galita udakaṃ viya hoti khaṇe neva muccati vinassati yevati, asaccabhāvena¹² supinakkupamā kāmā,¹³ attano issariyabhāvena araṇṇaṃ dahanāṃ tiṇakkupamā kāmā,¹⁴ aticcapphala-

¹ C₁C₂ *saggagunaṃ*; X *saggagunā*, C₁C₂YZ [*paṭisaṃyuttaṃ*]

² B *Tuṇḍilagahapatiputtassa*

³ AX then add *saṃkhāresu jigucchiyakataṃ*

⁴ BC₁C₂Z [*yuttaṃ*]; emend to *yutto*?

⁵ C₂ *vimucchitaṃ*

⁶ C₁ *desetaṃ*

⁷ ABC₂Y *kāmesu*

⁸ The meaning here is not immediately obvious. I take this clause to mean that *upekkhā* is the best mental state possible in this world, that is, happiness — true happiness — is not possible.

⁹ A omits *niccaṃ ḍasito hoti*.

¹⁰ BX *tiṭṭhati*

¹¹ A *padumapattakona*

¹² A [*accabhāvesu*]

¹³ A then adds *tāpana*

¹⁴ A omits *kāmā*

bhāvena¹ sappisirupamā² kāmā, pajjalitabhāvena tiṇakkupamā kāmā, tāpanabhāvena³ aṅgārakāsupamā⁴ kāmā, jīvitaharaṇaṭṭhena halāhalavisupamā⁵ kāmā, vilīnabhāvena⁶ naccalohupamā⁷ kāmā, pajjalitabhāvena ayogulupamā⁸ kāmā, atekicchabhāvena makkhigāṇa parivāritavaṇupamā⁹ kāmā, tathā dukkham eva kevalaṃ.

Duggandhabhāvena¹⁰ pūtiparipuṇṇagaṇḍupamā kāmā, gūtharāsimhi nimuggapuriso viya kāmā, pūtikunāpesu hatthapavesanapuriso¹¹ viya kāmā, aṅgārakapallesu¹² aṅgulipakkhittapuriso¹³ viya¹⁴ kāmā, evaṃ kāmānissāya¹⁵ imasmiṃ loke¹⁶ yeva ativiyaḥhorataraṃ¹⁷ dukkhaṇ¹⁸ ca mahantaṇ ca vināsaṃ paṭisaṃvedenti.¹⁹ Puna tato²⁰ idhalokadukkhaṇ²¹ ca

¹ Z omits *aticcaphalabhāvena*; XY *aniccaphalabhāvena*

² Z omits *sappisirupamā*; the compound can be read as “like a lump (Pali: *sira*) of ghee” or perhaps as “like a stream (borrowing Sanskrit *sirā*) of ghee.”

³ Y omits *tiṇakkupamā kāmā, tāpanabhāvena*

⁴ B omits *aṅgārakāsupamā*

⁵ C₁C₂ *halāhalavisupamā*

⁶ B *vinīlabhāvena*

⁷ C₂X *tambalohupamā*. The exact significance of the simile is obscure to me, largely because of the difficulty of *nacca*. Perhaps it should be understood as “like quivering — that is, molten (as is suggested by the variant in C₂X) — metal.”

⁸ AZ [*ayogutthupamā*]

⁹ B *parivāritanupamā*; Y *parivāritā*; Z *parivāritam*

¹⁰ A [*duggandho bhāvena*]

¹¹ X *hattham pavesanapuriso*

¹² ABC₁XYZ [*aṅgārakapallesu*]

¹³ Z [*aṅguliparikkhinna*]; perhaps *parikhīna* was intended?

¹⁴ Y then adds *puna*

¹⁵ BX *kāmānissāya*; A [*kāmānissāya*]

¹⁶ X omits *loke*

¹⁷ Y *ativiyaḥhoram*

¹⁸ C₁ *dukkham ca*

¹⁹ XY *paṭivedenti*; C₂ *paṭisaṃvedenti*

²⁰ A *tathā*

²¹ C₂ *idhaloke dukkhaṇ ca*

paṭivedetvā¹ puna paraloke mahānirayesu uppajjanti. Tasmim yeva mahāniraye tippakharā kaṭukā vedanā paṭivedenti.

Evaṃ Bhagavā kāmesu dosaṃ dassetvā,² nikkhamme ānisaṃsaṃ kathetum ārabhi. Bho gahapati gharāvāso nāma bahudukkho bahūpāyāso bahupalibodho bahukicchā³ bahukaraṇiyo bahucintā bahu icchā. Imasmiṃ⁴ yeva gharāvāsesu dukkham eva kevalaṃ, nirayaṃ yeva santikaṃ upanenti,⁵ nibbānamaggassa dūrabhāvaṃ karoti. Tasmā gahapati gharāvāso nāma jegucchiyaṃ⁶ kātuṃ yuttaṃ,⁷ na tattha chandarāgo kātabbo. Alaṃ nanditum alaṃ piyātum alaṃ virajjitum⁸ alaṃ vimuccitum. Yo koci puggalo kāmesu ādīnavaṇ ca gharāvāsesu dosaṇ ca disvā puttadarassa⁹ rañjanaṃ chaḍḍetvā gehato nikkhamitvā Himavantaṃ pavisitvā¹⁰ brahmacariyaṃ carissati. So puggalo mahantaṃ nibbāna-sukhaṃ¹¹ paṭilabhissati.

Evaṃ Bhagavā gharāvāsesu¹² dosaṇ ca nikkhamme ānisaṃsaṇ ca dassetvā nibbānassānisaṃsaṃ pakāseto: Bho gahapati nibbāyati etaṃ¹³ tasmā nibbānaṃ ti vuccati. Jātijarāvyādhimaraṇadukkhaṃ etesaṃ catunnaṃ dukkhaṃ nibbāpeti¹⁴ nibbānaṃ nāma, rāgadosamohamānaṃ

¹ A [*paṭivedeti vā ca*]

² C₁ *desetvā*

³ A [*bahukicco*]

⁴ Emend to *imesu*? or perhaps understand as *imasmiṃ loke*?

⁵ Emend to *upaneti*?

⁶ X *jegucchikātuṃ*; BC₁C₂Z [*jecchiyaṃ*]; emend to *jigucchi-*?

⁷ C₁C₂Z [*yuttaṃ*]; emend to *yutto*?

⁸ X (*virajjitum*)

⁹ B then adds *chandaṃ*

¹⁰ A [*paṭisitivā*]

¹¹ Z *nibbānasukhā*

¹² B *gharāvāse*

¹³ BX (*etaṃ nibbānaṃ*)

¹⁴ B *nibbānaṃ peti*; C₂ *nibbānapeti*; C₁ (*nibbāpeti*)

natthi¹ atthi etesaṃ pañcannaṃ² dosānaṃ nibbānapetīti nibbānaṃ nāma³
ti uccati.⁴ Tasmim⁵ nibbāne ajātim ajaraṃ abyadhim⁶ amaraṃ⁷
nibbhayaṃ⁸ na upaddavaṃ.⁹

Sattappavaraṃ¹⁰ ramanīyyataṇaṃ¹¹ ca nibbānamahānagaraṃ
sapākāraṃ sadvāraṃ sātṭālakam saparikkhittam savīthi saantarāpanaṃ
sakappaṃ sapāsādaṃ¹² satambhaṃ sasayanaṃ sapallaṅkaṃ¹³ sadīpa-
pajjalitaṃ¹⁴ samālāgandhavilepanaṃ sapokkharāṇiyaṃ sajalaparipunṇaṃ
savālukaṃ¹⁵ tasmim yeva¹⁶ pokkharāṇiye¹⁷ sapadumuppalakumuda-
puṇḍarikaṃ¹⁸ sabhamaraṃ sauyyānaṃ¹⁹ sahaṃsacakkavākāṃ²⁰ satalākaṃ

¹ C₂ *rāgadosamohamānanatthi*; emend *natthi* to *diṭṭhi* ? or take *natthi* as referring to the view of nihilism, which is generally rejected as a wrong view.

² Emend to *pañcānaṃ* ?

³ X adds *sokadukkhaparidevadoṃanassa upāyāsādī hi atthi etesā* (emend to *etesāṃ* ?) *dukkhānaṃ nibbānaṃ peti nibbānaṃ nāma*

⁴ A *vuccati*

⁵ B adds *yeva*

⁶ BYZ [*ovyādhiṃ*]; C₁ [*auvyādhiṃ*]

⁷ C₂ *amaraṇaṃ*; A [*amaraṇaṃ*]

⁸ ABC₁Z [*nibbhayā*]

⁹ B omits *na upaddavaṃ*; emend to *anupaddavaṃ* ?

¹⁰ B (*sattapaddavaraṃ*)

¹¹ Perhaps *ramanīyatāṇaṃ* *ca* is intended ?; AC₁C₂XY *ramaṇīyanaṃ*

¹² C₁C₂Z [*sapāsādaṃ*]

¹³ A [*sapallakaṃ*]

¹⁴ AXY *sadīpajjalitaṃ*

¹⁵ BC₂Z *savāṭṭhukaṃ*

¹⁶ C₂ *ye*; X (*ye so*)

¹⁷ X (*pokkharāṇi*)

¹⁸ BC₁C₂ (*°upphala-*); AB [*°kumudu-*]

¹⁹ A [*uyyāyanaṃ*]; C₂ (*uyyāṇaṃ*)

²⁰ B *haṃsacakkavālaṃ*

jīvaṃjīvakasaṃghā naccāhakokilasuvapotakā¹ madhurakoṇcādī sakuṇa-
gaṇehi² sevitam, evaṃ³ nibbānamahānagarassa⁴ sampattiyo honti.⁵

Tathā nibbānamahānagare⁶ kiṃ tam pākāraṃ ? Khantipāraṃ
pākārasadisam. Kiṃ tam sadvāraṃ ? Dānapāraṃ dvārasadisam.⁷ Kiṃ tam
saatṭālakam ? Samādhi atṭālasadisam. Kiṃ tam saparikkhittam ?
Mettāpāraṃ⁸ parikkhittapākārāsadisam.⁹ Kiṃ tam savīthi ? Catuvīsati-
samantapadhānaṃ. Kiṃ tam saantarāpanaṃ ? Sattatimsabodhipakkhiyam
antarāpanasadisam.¹⁰ Kiṃ tam sapāsādaṃ ?¹¹ Dasapāraṃ pāsādasadisam.
Kiṃ tam satambhaṃ ? Abhidhammasattappakaraṇatambhasadisam.¹²
Kiṃ tam sayanaṃ ? Nekkhammapāraṃ sayanasadisam. Kiṃ tam
pallaṅkaṃ ? Vimuttiñāṇapallaṅkasadisam.¹³ Kiṃ tam sapadīpa-
pajjalitaṃ ?¹⁴ Nānapadīpajjalitasadisam.¹⁵ Kiṃ tam mālāgandha-
vilepanaṃ ? Saccapāraṃ mālāgandhavilepanasadisam. Kiṃ tam
sapokkharāṇiyyam ?¹⁶ Bhāvanā pokkharāṇisadisam. Kiṃ tam jala-
paripunṇam ? Kāruṇā sītalajalaparipunṇasadisam.¹⁷ Kiṃ tam

¹ BC₁ *naccākokilasuvapotakā*

² A [*sakuṇagahane vīnaṃ hī*]

³ C₂ (*ekaṃ*)

⁴ C₁C₂ *nibbānassa mahānagarassa*

⁵ Y (*hoti*)

⁶ B *nibbānaṃ mahānagare*

⁷ AZC₁C₂XY *dānapāraṃ dvāraṃ sadisaṃ*

⁸ C₂ *mettāya pāraṃ*; I suspect that this variant is an instance of contamination by a *pada ānūya*.

⁹ Z *parikkhittam pākārāsadisam*; BC₁C₂XY *parikkhittam sadisaṃ*

¹⁰ B *antarāpanaṃ sadisaṃ*

¹¹ BZ omit *sa*

¹² Emend to *Abhidhammasattappakaraṇaṃ tambhasadisam* ?

¹³ C₂ *vimuttiñāṇaṃ pallaṅkaṃ sadisaṃ*; emend to *Vimuttiñāṇaṃ pallaṅkasadisam* ?

¹⁴ B *sampadīpajjalitaṃ*

¹⁵ Emend to *Nānaṃ padīpajjalitasadisam* ?

¹⁶ AC₂ [*pokkharāṇiyyā*]

¹⁷ AB *kāruṇāsītalajalaparipunṇaṃ sadisaṃ*

sapadumuppalakumudapūṇḍarikam ?¹ Sīlam.² Kiṃ tam sabhamaram ? Aggasāvakaṃ³ bhamaragaṇasadisam. Kiṃ tam⁴ uyyānam ? Viriyam⁵ uyyānasadisam. Kiṃ tam haṃsacakkavākam ?⁶ Jātikilesamalavijahitam arahantam haṃsacakkavākadijagaṇasadisam.⁷ Kiṃ tam jīvamjīvakādi-sakuṇagaṇehi sevitam ? Nibbānataḷākasadisam.⁸ Tasmim yeva nibbāna-nagare sattappakaraṇehi samvitthārāvā⁹ hoti ti.

Saccam ekantasukkham eva hoti. Tādisam saggasukkham¹⁰ akatapūṇḍehi na laddham. Kiṃ aṅga pana tathā nibbānanagaram gantum vā pāpunitum vā pavisitum na sakkā¹¹ laddhum. Yena kenaci janā dānena pi yadā puṇṇakammesu pi ratā, te pi janā niyatam eva nibbāna-mahānagaram gantum vā pāpunitum vā pavisitum vā passitum vā labhissanti. Atha Satthā nibbānamahānagaram vaṇṇento āha:

Santam paṇitam amalam sivaṃ abhayaṃ maccutam¹²
Ajaram amataṃ khemaṃ¹³ nibbānam nāma īdisan ti

¹ B *padumuppalakumudapūṇḍarikam*

² BC₂ omit *sīlam*; A then adds [*padumuppalakumudapūṇḍ sadisam*], obviously a copyist's error, but one which suggests that the usual pattern in the simile was expected here too.

³ A *agge sāvakaṃ*; B *aggasāvaka*

⁴ A then adds *sa*

⁵ AC₂ *virīya*

⁶ B (*haṃsacakkavālākam*)

⁷ BC₁ omit *arahantam haṃsacakkavākadijagaṇasadisam*

⁸ Emend to *nibbānam taḷākasadisam* ?

⁹ Read as *saṃvitthārā vā* ?; or emend to *saṃvitthārāvā* ?

¹⁰ X *saggamukham*

¹¹ A [*sakko*]

¹² Emend to *maccutaram* ?; or, to keep metre, to *madhuram* ?

¹³ All manuscripts then add [*evaṃ Bhagavā*]

Evaṃ Bhagavā anekaguṇasaṃyuttam¹ dhammadesanam Tuṇḍilagahapatikassa desesi. Gahapatiko pi ime acchariyabbhutam² dhammadesanam sutvā Irandatī nāma bhariyāya³ saddhiṃ dhammarasaṃ pivitvā pītivegena ubho pi jayampatikā arahattam pāpunimṣu. Aññe pi janā bahusotāpattiphalādini pāpunimṣu.

Tuṇḍilovādasuttam.⁴

Chicago

Charles Hallisey

¹ BZ [*anekaguṇasaṃyuktam*]

² A *acchariyabhutam*; C₂ *acchariyam abbhutam*; Y *acchariya abbhutam*

³ A [*bharyā*]; Z [*bharyyā*]

⁴ X adds *niṭṭhitam*; A adds a scribe's colophon: *ito cutoham vara jambudīpe mālaye* (emend to *Himālaye* ?) *hemamayampi kūte, kappāyuko devapatīca hutvā meteyyanāthassa sunomi dhammam*; B lapses into Sinhala in its ending: *Siddhir astu, subham astu, arogyam astu. Tuṇḍilovādasuttam niṭṭhitam. Sadhusadhubuduvemivā.*